3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs [953] after every funeral, since it must be decided [152] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [273] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 [52] In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a 682 683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I [627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 ●183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kventa me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

[601] *hun ku kilaz'in kalnilan*
I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kventa
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik lamal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-B] Teklum

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783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by
156 his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft
828 heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kuenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or [608] godparents; he especially picks out curers, [756] both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually [293] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who [578] assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being
682 killed if one has an enemy. The general failure
626 of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 469-A]

682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 598 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 598 756 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 682 674 178 789 756 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 598 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions [439] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever [754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [177] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin, the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encínes, and Rodriguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Coiton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chepeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

Life Cycle

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [181] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper.

[P 223-B]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 • 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 [184] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183 though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is,
[689] while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango. The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* Increasing the length of an informal drinking performance in-
183 creases the probability that the individual will become ill (as
[153] well as exhaust all his resources, anger the members of his household, and so on). Upon the next occasion when some individual invites him to start an informal drinking performance, he can respond by saying, "I am afraid to start an informal drinking performance with you since my style of informal drinking performance results for me in severe illness, alienates my family, causes economic catastrophe to my household." The person inviting must allow that this is true, in view of the fact that he observed ego engaging in such extended performances within the past year, say. On the other hand, an individual can stop engaging in informal drinking performances by reporting that he has taken medicine for drinking, which medicine will cause his death if he drinks. It is not unusual for a man to take medicine and then become very sick by way of telling the community that it was real medicine with strong disease producing effects. If a man goes on drinking in the informal drinking after he has taken the medicine, it is proof that the medicine did not have the desired effect. The common feature of either response to the desire to reduce amount of drinking: increasing the length of the informal drinking performances or taking medicine puts the individual in that context which allows him to say,

273* "If I drink I will die." We believe that it is only by citing
• 183 such severe effects as this that an individual can, over the long run, control his response to the invitation to drink.[1]

Some men prefer to drink more in the informal drinking performances than do most men. These men can increase number and length of informal drinking performances by seeking out the existing informal drinking groups on any particular day. The rule is that anyone may join any informal drinking group at the beginning of an informal drinking performance if, and only if, he can contribute a proportional amount of the aguardiente which is being drunk. It is the case that as an informal drinking group approaches deep drunkenness, it becomes easier for any man to join the informal drinking group without paying his proportional share of the drinking expenses.

273* It appears to be the case, then, that individuals must
753 get sick in order to reduce their number of informal drinking performances. Individuals also may get sick as the result of drinking under any circumstances. Long informal drinking performances allow individuals to behave as though they were ex-

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[1] In the short run, a man can avoid any particular, highly probable informal drinking performance by leaving the field, as was suggested above. That is, by knowing which days informal drinking performances are more likely to occur on than other days (the ten day time zone around some major fiesta, or Sundays, for example), he can arrange to be "away on business."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 361 [192] A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

[582] [183] [125] [583]

174 621 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

175 621 563

621 [174]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money.

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel.

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm.

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is [192] that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna*, while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin*, also a term for [192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather [601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *niẖ'an*. Sex distinction is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

7: Nash E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461
• 183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

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157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
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157 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
828 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

423 433 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc. 621 556 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists, 621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they 183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

621 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other mis-
•183 demeanors against the village norms.

621 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having
156 a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can
754 try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

[593 583 584] The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

[585 183 593 606] At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
•183 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
593 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her
606 mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
885 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[851] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [2] If a young man commits a crime while living under his
[672] father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 59 183 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pattern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 121 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 [183] Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patrivirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

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TABLE 7

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

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Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

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Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

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The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango
593 patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

• 183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, [606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

593 Independently of the analysis of 139 geographical distribution
423 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

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593 The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed,
• [183] for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of
[428] cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents'
423 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before
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[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

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Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1] That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

562 428 578 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

182 571 (602) based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 183 461 556 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as